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# SENATE'S LOBBY PROBE COMMITTEE QUESTIONS GEORGE R. CARTER AT VERY GREAT LENGTH

This is installment No. 3 in the report of the senate lobby probe committee that investigated the activities of Hawali sugar planters in Washington. The report is being published from week to week.]

t to them?

Mr. Carter. I think, if I may have the copy of it, it will show the date | zsked you when it was? of my letter of transmittal. I think it was the 28th of May.

Senator Cummins. Which one do ou mean?

that the chairman has, if I may have dressed to Senator John Sharp Williams, and is dated May 28; and I sent it as I say, at the suggestion of Senator O'Gorman; but now I gather from red. me testimony before this committee that when senators receive a printed pamphlet like this they throw it into the waste-paper basket.

Senator Walsh. This was prepared, as I understand you, at the suggestion of Senator O'Gorman?

Mr. Carter. Yes; I was telling Senator O'Gorman a little about the treatment that our delegation had received before the committee. I am of the opinion that whatever occurred before that committee will not reach the rest of the senators unless it comes out in some such testimony as this. Senator Nelson. I wish you would

tell us about that. I want to hear Senator Walsh. Senator, will you

pardon me until I dispose of this?

Senator Nelson. Of course; but when are you likely to end?

Senator Walsh. I am going to try to learn something. I will be very glad, however, if you will proceed with the examination.

Senator Nelson. Go on. Senator Walsh. You say you were telling Senator O'Gorman about the treatment that the delegation got, and you got from him the suggestion that you prepare a brief?

Mr. Carter. No; not at all. Yes; in a way. He suggested it in this way: tie said, "Carter, why don't you put down what you want to say and have are separate. it printed and send it to the senators?" I did not say so to him, but thought afterwards that I could have done that at home without traveling

Senator Walsh. You would want to present a brief to the finance committee in any case, would you not, even though you had obtained a hearing? Mr. Carter, No; I should have preferred a public hearing, and I declined to go before the committee because it was not a public hearing.

Mr. Carter. At least I did not go. and that was my reason for not going.

a public hearing : Mr. Carter. Yes. I saw no advan-tage in a hearing before three senators who were adverse to us, and got hold of and that deserved further

when it was not going to be public. Senator Walsh. Whom do you speak of as the three senators who are adverse to you?

Mr. Carter. I presumed they were adverse. I was so informed. They were the three senators who composed the subcommittee having charge of Sugar.

Senator Walsh. That is, Senator Williams-Mr. Carter. Senator Williams, Sen-

ator Gore, and Senator Shively, I believe. / Senator Walsh. So you did not make any effort at all the appear be-

fore that committee? Mr. Carter. I advised my eagues not to appear before that committee, and did not come up myself. Senator Walsh. And you presented no brief to that committee at all? You addressed this to the general pub-

Mr. Carter. No; I presented this fishing. For particulars, address E. brief to them afterwards after our hearing was over, after they had stgniped their impression that the delegation from Hawaii "amused" them.

Senator Walsh. Amused them? Mr. Carter. Yes; amused them; and after one of them was courteous enough to suggest that the Hawaiian delegation be heard after the tariff

.... is passed. Senator Walsh. Now, Senator Nel-

Senator Nelson. I will wait until ou are through. Senator Walsh. Did you appear be fore that subcommittee at all?

Mr. Carter. I did not. Senator Walsh. The remark that you speak of was made by which mem-

ber of the committee? Mr. Carter. There were only two nembers present, the chairman and

Senator Gore. chairman of the subcommittee? Mr. Carter. The chairman of the

subcommittee. to say that you did not appear before

the subcommittee at all? what my colleagues reported. Senator Walsh. Oh, this was some-

thing that was told you? Mr. Carter. Certainly. Senator Walsh. About what they islands, if anybody? had said?

Baldwin.

that you were thus told? Mr. Carter. The afternoon of the ing of my brief I have not conferred for that. mittee on Monday morning at 10 on it. o'clock, I had been working on my Senator Walsh. What I simply de- Mr. Carter. You asked me about They tell us to grow tropical fruits,"

we might file would be printed, or that the direction of some one, committee.

Senator Walsh. Can you give us any idea about how long ago this was? Mr. Carter. Yes: I think if I may refresh my mind from the calendar l can give you the date. It was on Monday, and I think it was the 19th of May, about that date. I am not positive, but the record of the date

can be obtained very easily. Senator Walsh. In addition to the brief and bulletins and the advertising, what else have you gotten out at your headquarters?

Senator Walsh. You know this "Get the facts," do you not? Mr. Carter. Yes.

Senator Walsh. What does that comprise. Mr. Carter. That is the pamphlet

the mats and had an edition of 5,000 Senator Walsh. That is, the vari-

Mr. Carter. These advertisements had been running in the paper for some time, and we collected the advertisements together and made them up into this pamphlet.

Senator Walsh. I was in error then; I supposed that that pamphlet was a compilation of the various bulletins that you got out? Mr. Carter. Not at all; the bulleting

tion of the advertising? Mr. Carter. Yes. Senator Walsh. How are those dis

Mr. Carter. In the same way; un

Mr. Carter. Yes. Senator Walsh. What else? Mr .Carter. Mr. Ballou prepared some before I arrived, a little pamph-

Senator Walsh. Because it was not let called "Sugar Facts."

public hearing:

We printed an article by Mr. Lawcirculation. That was done before arrived. There may be some other ter me can give you better information on that than I can, but we would

> Senafor Walsh. Having told us about the printed matter that you put out, you were proceeding to tell me a while ago about your interviews

with various senators? Mr. Carter. Yes, Senator Walsh. What

left my card and not seen them. he corridor and spoke to him, and lington? was introduced, for the first time, to Senator La Follette. I know of no testify.

senting different things here, but working in harmony.

Senator Walsh. I understood you to start out with the representatives of the islands?

Senator Walsh. This Domestic Sugar Producers' Association? Mr. Carter. The sugar producers is

the cooperative action of various su-The Chairman. Do you mean the gar interests here. It does not alone! chairman of the committee or the represent Hawaii, It represents Louisiana and the beet-sugar interests and Porto Rico. When it was started its first bulletin outlined what it was Senator Walsh. I understand you composed of and what its plan was. Senator Walsh. Confine yourself

for the present, however, to the re-Mr. Carter. I did not. I am giving presentatives from the Hawaiian isl-Mr. Carter. Yes.

matters we refer to him. On some all?

retired to see if I could not get it fin-each one of the representatives from Pardon me, if I misunderstood you. I no other industry than sugar to which ished. Later we ascertained that the the islands goes about his work on understood you to ask me for what re- we can turn our attention. We are hearing was not to be public, and we his own initiative in that kind of ferred to Hawaii. could get no assurance that anything thing or whether he goes about under. Senator Nelson. I certainly under- land. We have to ship in American

Senator Walsh. When did you get a waste of time to appear before the ping and to give as much team work changed my mind about it here a minas we can. We are all vitally inter- ute ago. Senator Walsh. Governor, I simply ested, and we want to avoid annihila- Mr. Carter. I did not understand tion of our industry, and we are work- when you changed your mind.

was the afternoon of the day the hear- der the impression thus far, Governor, association here in the Colorado build- whether I had left anything unasked. Mr. Carter. That green pamphlet ing began. They had a hearing, and that the domestic sugar producers ing was gotten out at the expense of Mr. Carter. About our activities it lasted from 10 o'clock in the morn- merely signified simply the represent the Hawaiian sugar producers. it. The letter of transmittal is ad- ing until something like 4 o'clock in tatives of the Hawalian Islands, but I Mr. Carter. I could not say. the afternoon. And I was at work at now gather that it embraces all of the

> it started, before I came here. Senator Walsh. So that it embraces eys which were necessary. not only the Hawaiian Islands' interests, but what else?

are better informed than I am. The Chairman. Will you produce which we did not ask the others to distribution. All we can do is to come that first bulletin and give us a copy contribute. We thought it was such here and appeal, and when we are deof it?

Mr. Carter. I shall be glad to.

Mr. Carter. No; I spoke of those as the advertisements. Senator Walsh. The first bulletin, then, as I understand you tells us who constitute this Domestic Sugar Pro-

Mr. Carter. Well, I so understand. have not read it myself, but I so understand.

Senator Walsh. From what you know of the operations down there, what interests are represented? Mr. Carter. As I understand it, the Domestic Sugar Producers' represent all of those who produce sugar under the American flag.

Senator Walsh. That is, the Ha-Mr. Carter. Yes; the Hawaiian Is- tribute, or in each line of work they

Mr. Carter. Louisiana. Senator Walsh. The beet-sugar in Mr. Carter. The beet-sugar inter-

Mr. Carter. And the Porto Rican

ground is common, we stand together. fund?

ers. When a matter comes up, we gather together and discuss it. I have attended two or three conferences.

Senator Walsh. Of course it takes Hawaii would be justified in spending have told us about? Mr. Carter. Precisely.

Senator Walsh. As far as all the work of the Domestic Sugar Produc- We will ask Mr. Mead when he con ers' Association is concerned.

it very small in comparison with the

in this industry.

Senator Walsh. The contributions it was agreed that it would be far betof course, as I suppose, come from the ter to assess all, because then it would

the funds expended by this associaof labor unions, but a day of federa- tion for the domestic sugar producers, you about how we raised our money Mr. Carter. I am speaking of that and it is assessed against the 9,000 which we disburse as our contribution stockholders in Hawaii. from Hawaii. I could not tell you about the others.

> Mr. Carter. Yes. these various things gotten out by spent? this Domestic Sugar Producers' Asso- Mr. Carter. No. 1 draw my money ciation?

that we contribute. Senator Walsh. From whom Mr. Mead get the money?

borne by the Hawaiian sugar inter- sideration of this bill?

stood that he referred to Hawaiian anything we said would be taken Mr. Carter. No. We start to work concerns and not these others.

down, and I thought then it would be in harmony and to prevent overlap. Senator Walsh. So did I until I

> first place from your testimony that all you have asked. Senator Walsh. I was laboring un- everything that was gotten out by this! Senator Walsh. I wanted to know

> > Senator Walsh. But I later gathered from you, from what you said, that

Mr. Carter. You misunderstood me. Some of them contribute to some Mr. Carter. The first bulletin will things, and some do not. For instance give you the facts, and these others in the preparation of this pamphlet, that was a contribution on our part to an excellent plan to get the facts before the public and get the informa-Senator Walsh. It will be found in tion out, that while this tariff bill was the pamphlet "Get the Facts," will it being under discussion we published not? We told them what we were going to way. do, and asked them if they had any

it did the otners contribute? Mr. Carter. They contributed noth

Senator Walsh. You have told us that, but what part of the expenses in-curred at the office down there?

any of these things did the other in terests contribute?

Mr. Carter. I could not tell you that as well as some of the others.

Senator Walsh. And the Porto Ri- out whether they do actually contrib- that he ute to a common fund at all or not. Mr. Carter. No; not in that ser

Senator Walsh. No common fund at

Mr. Carter. Oh, no; far from it. The Chairman. How much have you Mr. Carter. I could not say. Mr Mr. Carter. As far as these adver- Mead can give you that. I should say something under \$100,000.

not be the willing horses that did the the consumer. I consider that we are Senator Walsh. The point is that it

Senator Walsh. That is what I say

Mr. Carter. You spoke of the asso-Senator Walsh. I am speaking o the Hawaiian association now, You do

for my expenses direct. I have not Mr. Carter: Yes; all those things got the bill for my brief yet, but I think my total expenses so far have does been something under \$1,000, including my return ticket. I expect to leave at Mr. Carter. From the Hawailan Su- the end of this week; that is, to leave

Senator Walsh. Is it the purpose to Senator Walsh. So, as I understand, have someone representing the islands' then, all of the expense of this is interests here during the further con-

brief, but it was not finished, and I sired to know about that was whether Hawaii, at least I so understood you. when it is impossible, and we know of

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Mr. Carter. It was on the after ing the best we know how to prevent Senator Walsh. I thought in noon of that Monday. I do not re- that. member the day of the hearing, but it the office when these two gentlemen interests producing sugar.

Mr. Carter. Nothing else that know of

that I told you we had prepared from

ous bulletins were collected?

Senator Walsh. This is a compila-

der the mailing list that we have here Senator Walsh. Has any other printed matter emanated from your headquarters?

let called "An Argument for the Con-Mr. Paxton prepared a little phmph rence that had been published in some material. Those who will testify af-

be glad to file a complete set of them

done in that way? Mr. Carter. When I have come un to the Capitol I have usually spent. my time to little effect, because would not find the senators in. have seen, I think, only a very few. I have seen Senator Martine, Senator O'Gorman, and Senator Newlands, I met Senator James Hamilton Lewis in

other senators that I have seen. I can now recall no others. Senator Walsh. Now, has your organization some head who assumes

the direction of affairs? Mr. Carter. Not entirely; we are different units here. This is a day of cooperation; it is no longer a day tions of unions. We are all repre-

Mr. Carter. I do not understand

ducers' Association?

waijan Islands' interestlands Senator Walsh. Louisiana-

to answer that question. In what ing to this campaign work in different sense do you mean? It is a very ways. loose and general organization, just Senator Walsh. But are they con such an organization as the federa-tion of labor unions would have. I Mr. Carter. Not in the sense that doubt if it is as formal as that. It is everything is paid for out of a comjust such an organization as if a mon fund.

of an organization with a chairman, a mon fund. secretary, or anything of that kind? Mr. Carter. No; not with these oth-

Senator Walsh. Who handles the spent? money? tisements are concerned?

Mr. Carter. Do you mean who han- Mr. Carter. I should not kesitate to dles the money-who pays the bills? spend a large amount in any legiti-Mr. Mead, and I will say that if we mate work in getting information be paid out \$800,000 we would consider fore the public.

statistician of whom I have spoken. | Sugar Planters' Association, and they

various interests represented? Mr. Carter. The contributions come heaviest work. by the assessment of all the stockholders in Hawaii. Senator Walsh. I was speaking of ious members of the association?

Senator Walsh. I am going to trace ciation here, as I understood you. it as far as I can, governor. Senator Walsh. Mr. Mead pays for not know how much has actually been

gar Planters' Association, that assesses Washington. all the stockholders in Hawaii.

ken of-

objection, and they said no. Senator Walsh. And what part of

Mr. Carter, I do not know, Senator Walsh. In the issuing of

Mr. Mead is here, and Mr. Ballou can tell you that-how much they conapprove of and join with us in, and how the division of work has been made between the different interests.

Let not confidently familiar with all I am not sufficiently familiar with all

There are some things-Senator Walsh. In any sense Association or organization have you? they all contribute to a common fund.

Mr. Carter. It is a little difficult. Mr. Carter. They are all contribute.

series of interests got together on Senator Walsh. In the sense that common ground; and as far as our any of it is paid for out of a common Senator Walsh. Have you any kind Mr. Carter. I say there is no com

money to do all these things that you \$800,000. Have you spent that much

The Chairman. Go ahead, senator

Senator Walsh. What is the system \$80,000,000 that we have got involved by which you have accumulated whatever fund you have distributed? The Chairman. Who is Mr. Mead? Mr. Carter. There is no system Mr. Carter. R. D. Mead. He is the about it. We draw on the Hawaiian have you encountered anbody engaged The Chairman. Is he here in Wash- assess all the stockholders in Hawaii. representing the cause of the consum-We discussed that question, as to whe- ers, and endeavoring to enlighten the Mr. Carter. He is here, ready to ther we should raise the money for the |campaign by popular subscription, and

> is raised by assessment upon the var-Mr. Carter. Not at all. I am telling

Mr. Carter. It is; and it is the pur-Mr. Carter. All this advertising is pose to carry on this propaganda as borne by them, and these bulletins. far as we can, and to continue it. We Senator Walsh. Who is at the head The publications are borne by them, recognize that a great many people of the delegation from the Hawaiian and the office rent is borne by them. have called "wolf" every time a tariff I could not say whether everything - bill is brought up, and that is the rea Mr. Carter. We do not have a head there is a good deal of private expense son we get so little hearing now; but Mr. Carter. Precisely.

In this case, sir. I am here as a volume by us all.

Senator Walsh. Told you by whom? unteer, and other gentlemen are, and Mr. Carter. By Mr. Ballou and Mr. Mr. Ballou is here permanently. Many sugar interests do anything for you at long as liberty of free speech is given me to fight for the land of my birth Senator Walsh. And when was this we act independently of him. For hat you were thus told?

Mr. Carter. They do their part. and the industries that involve 35 per hat you were thus told?

Instance, in the preparation and print- They are issuing literature. They pay cent of our revenues. There are 32,-000 children to be educated in Hawaii, hearing, I think it was. Mr. Ballou with Mr. Ballou at all. I have no rea- Senator Walsh. Now, I have got and how we are going to do it we do was notified on Friday that there son to confer with him. I am not un- back again. Then, as I understand not know. We are told to raise copra, would be a hearing before this com- der him. He does not have to pass you now, this work that you have spo- but coconuts will not grow in the islands & comparison with the south.

located a long distance from the main-

ships, and this is now a serious crisis in the history of Hawaii, the equal of which we have not faced before. Senator Walsh. Do you think you

have told us now, in a general way, about the activities of the Hawaiian representatives here? Mr. Carter. I have told you frankly

here? Senator Walsh. Yes.

Mr. Carter. I do not think you have got out of me the entire information: came down and told what had occur. Mr. Carter. That was the aim when that was not the case, but that all of no. There is more that I should like these interests contributed to the mon- to give. I should like to tell of my effort to get a hearing for our delegation at the White House. I should like to tell of other things, about our efforts, and where we have failed. We con-tribute \$18,000,000 into Uncle Sam's treasury, and we have no vote in its distribution. All we can do is to come turn to the press and hire space and send out advertisements and printed pamphlets. We can only do that which

> Senator Walsh. Governor, if there have been any other efforts put forth by you for the purpose of influencing the public mind, or affecting the judg-ment of senators, about which I have not asked you, please state them. Mr. Carter. I have sent out a great

many personal letters. I have kept

is vouchsafed to us in any legitim

my stenographer busy writing to my Senator Walsh. I think you told us about all that. Mr. Carter. No; I said I had sent bulletins to personal friends. I know of nothing else that I have done.

Senator Walsh. Very well.

Senator Cummins. You have just said you have done something more.

I should like to hear what you have

Senator Walsh. I know, governor, House and tried to arrange for a dele-but I have a hard time trying to find gation to see the President, I saw and that it would be useless for use to see him, and denied us the opportunity, and I then asked if I had the right as an individual to see the President of the United States, and he nted it, and told me to be there

> Senator Walsh. Yesterday you re-Mr. Carter. Yes. I did that cause I am going away, and I taink I ought not to go back and tell the paople of Hawaii that I had not gone used my best efforts to reach President because of hearsay, and wanted to go direct and give him the opportunity of declining to hear the representatives of the people of Ha-

ade the other request? Mr. Carter. This was yesterday.

Senator Walsh. Senator Cummin is there anything you want to ask?
Senator Cummins. No; I wanted him to complete the statement of his activities. I wanted to hear every thing he has been doing. Senator Walsh, Was there any-

Senator Walsh. Now, Governor,

want to inquire of you, you are with the domestic sugar producers? Mr. Carter. I am here representi Hawaii. Acting in conjunction with the domestic sugar producers. Senator Walsh. In your activities upon the other side of the matter,

public mind on this subject from the

Mr. Carter. Why, our advertise

ments are full of things, on behalf of

representing the consumer as well as

standpoint of the consumer?

thing further?

Mr. Carter. No.

the producer. Senator Walsh. But I mean have you found anybody working in antagonism to you, against a duty on su-Mr. Carter. Why, yes. I think it was the chairman of the sub-committee who told our representative that we began two years too late; that the representatives of the refining inter-

ests began two years ago to influence

that we ought to have started earl-

Senator Walsh. Who told you this!

Senator Walsh. Mr. Ballou told you

Mr. Carter. Mr. Ballou.

that; who told him?

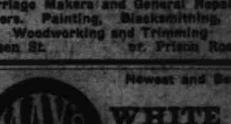
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